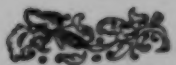

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *zoualli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them ecatotonti. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *zoualli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Misplaced sentence. Consider for this word.

Al xercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhuitl: En este dias hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes enjoétes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armá fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa q^e se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhuitl.

Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas calebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: hazíá tábien vnos troços de palo gruesos como la mufieca largos llamauanecatotonti: assi a vnos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamá tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes, en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Después que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauá tepexoch: la segũda llamauá Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauá Mayauel, y al hombre llamauá Milnauatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy ataujadas, hasta donde las aujá de matar.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amacuitol*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a gaily, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimalli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlapanquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech cloth.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[15] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech cloth might be carried.

In three places were they planted, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatilia, in Vitzilopochtli· vncan ın vmmanac, 796
teucaico, ycalpulco: cuatl·pechco contlalia: 778

ynjn contlapechtli, ꝙouitl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin
cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa
caca yn jntzonteco: 352 532

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynic quipepechoaia, yn jmiz-
quio, ca mizquiquauitl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla mu-
chipa caca, yn oquipepechoque: 824

njman ie ic quimamaca yn jlatq·: conaquja yn
jxicol, tlaconquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cenxoloa, panj conquentia, yeiiiticac-
tilma: iuhquin cuechintli: 242

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, moto-
caiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan
no hiuitl ic tlachioalli entlapanquj: 293 237

njman conquetza tesquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi
tlaçoiuitl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiercchioalli, ynic tla-
cujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoiotilli, y . ten, çan moch
tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucuj-
tlacomalli. 237

Auh yn jomjio mochioaia, mjchiouhtzoalli, mj-
militic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan
veca aciioc, inic vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapechiuhtoc, yn jixco çoul-
toca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quentepolli, 532
omjcicujlli, tlanientli, matneznopantli, xocpalli, ynic
tlacujlolli caca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlaconqualo:
yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan
conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymantli:

Auh ynjn amatl caca quoomatl, amo texamatl: 259
ynic tlaoac centmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac centmatl: 292
auh ynjc vijac centpoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc quinapaloa: 411
çan ic mochioaia inic quinapaloaque, ynjc mana-
paloa ymantli:

excan in tlapetonjlli caca, itzac tentlaujtica, inic 411
eccaj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichcheccan, ynjc ex- 237
can, vccan yn jmamançocan:

15. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 ff. In the Bancroft edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Bandelier questioned as "la exactitud con la copia de Lord Kingsborough" the statement that the paper was white.

leape about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Tocozt."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholoteimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtoaia, mitoa tonacachocholoa:

amaixquaxochimalerimanj, amaixquaxochimalcque, nexquaquapotonja ittac totolivitica: yoan motetemacuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itxintelolaio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motecaiotia ycujtlacochcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzquitiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtoaia, tlaiaoalea, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in quintlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacaxe cheoxticaxe: çan tlalpan vetzetl in quitzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetzitoque, aiotl quitzotzona, aiaujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcauan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtoaia, motenena mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtoaia mococoloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtoaia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtoaia innetol, momomochiitoaia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoc catca, ynmomochiconquj, yoan ymicpac contecaiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoā ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtoaia.

Jn ichoantin hin, motenena tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vizilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuia, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixquichtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuia:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmā tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcauan, quinujujlana, qujnitilicça, qujmiecça:

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17. Corresponding Spanish text: *"salian a bailar de la fiesta de tocozt"*; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 294) translates *tocozcuauhtlahuiloc* as *"se salia al salto de Tocozt."*

18. Sahagún's Spanish-Nahua equivalent reads: *black feathered staves*, *cl.*, however, Robredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 167. The last mentioned reference to manuscript is: *"Hay una nue que se llama tzitzicil, es negra y tiene el pico corvo."* Ixtlac (*op cit.*, p. 106, n. 2) tells tzompol jackdaw or crow; as (*ibid.*, p. 233) read shrub. Of this and of *cuitlacoxcoxtic* he says it is *"una Vegel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und deswegen Schrei, auch dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Leichtigkeit verkündete sollte. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit "Regenpfeifer" übersetzt. Er soll wohl ein Vogel mit dünnlichen schwarzen Gefieder gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Drossel."* Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: *"y que tiene llamarse cuitlacoxcoxtic, por razon de la barba, que tiene obscura, en el estomago."* See also *supra*, p. 94.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Izteucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacaxepan,[20] and Teicauitzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacamomalti* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Tezcatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in quinmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlaxujlqujxtia, quinjlhuja: ca vncan tlamacoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtl, in ontzonequiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apcoalco no netotilo, no nococololo:

iuh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucale, ynin neoan oonca Titlacaoan: iuh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepā, yoan Tchicuhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlatquj, tzcapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzoncal: tecpatl iquauepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequancoatl, oiooalli contlalitiuh, tehoan mjhtotia, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iillotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quēman connequiz, yn oquinec, njman ic ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

quioalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoalti, quixitilinja, caana, quelteequj: yn iiollo conjunjlia in tonatiuh:

iuh yn itzontecon, çan no tnompatitech conquaubço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica tictlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tlamacazque, quinpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipiaoticti, yn coçolco oooque: ynic quinpaxotla ymelpan, ymelchiquippan, yoan nenecuc ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan:

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan toxcatl: apcoalco, cexiuhtica ic ontlatzonequiça.

796 x [684 688]

796 x 293

796 x [304]

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19. Izteucale, ". . . que quiere decir: Gran del Señor de la Casa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Casa; y por otro nombre Tlacaxepan [sic], que es nombre del otro Dios, compañero de este Huitzilopochtli, este siempre son este Cautico, Xamadu nombran Tetzcatlipuca, que quiere decir: Hermano menor, por quanto siempre por mayor ó Huitzilopochtli, Rotz dos Monedas . . . el dedicado á Tezcatlipuca, y este correspondo a Huitzilopochtli, andaban siempre todo el año de un adentro, para el beneficio de este Dios; pero avia muchas diferencias entre los dos; porque el que representaba á Tezcatlipuca, ó Tolnacahua, adorabanle, y reverenciabanle siempre á Dios, ó como á imagen de aquel Dios . . . y el contrario, llamado Huitzilopochtli, no adorabanle, ni curabanle con esta reverencia. . . ." — Juan de Torquemada: Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales i monarchia indiana (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), p. 398.

20. Tlacaxepan Cuextecatzin. "Este cuidado de la guerra, hermano menor y compañero de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde tuvo este nombre solo sabe Dios en lo cierto de Tezcoco" (Chavigero, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 64).

A796 ments, the paper shoulder rosettes, the semicircular
[301] paper neck ornaments, and the bags for incense, which were purchased only [at the market]; and necklaces of wood, [also] sold only at the market place.

amacuexpalli, yoā yn jistaztli, çan quimococoujáia, yoan in tlacopaconcatl, çan mocenamacaia tianquizco.

And when they had reached [the end of] the four days, when all had fasted, then at early dawn all began to array themselves.

Auh yn oacic naujlhujtl, ynjc netlacaçaoalo, njman ioatzinco in peoa in techichioalo:

293 Then were bedight the fire priests and all [the
A796 other] priests. Early in the morning, all put on the shoulder rosettes. And they placed, over them, the paper neck ornament. They all put on the paper
[302] neck adornments. And their foreheads were stained blue—they were colored blue—and their bodies were stained. They were painted after the manner of Uixtociuatl.[24] And in their hands they carried the incense bags. The fire priests carried with them their ocelot-skin incense bags, provided with small, white, sea shells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn inqujch tlamacazquj, ioatzico yn ennenqujlo, in tlaquechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ynicpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, mjxquatexoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn istaztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynoocceloyistaz cuecuechcho, nauhcampā in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yistaztli.

And the bags of the [lesser] priests were only of paper, painted like ocelot hide, painted to look like ocelot [skin]. Some [incense bags] represented the *atzitzicuiloti* bird;[25] some represented ducks. Their bags were filled with incense.

Auh in tlamacazque ymjataz, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaoceloicujlolli, oceloicujliuhquj, in cequintin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixteoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxteoaia, yn jmiataz, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

A796 And when this was done, then all went [in procession] together, [that] the feast day might be cele-
[302] brated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He had put on his quetzal and heron feather crown; his face was coated with liquid rubber; [he had] his mist jacket and his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask, which he put on. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him followed, chanting, all the [other] priests, and thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaztatzóntli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjsolhuj yaiauhxicol, iquijauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacaxiuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa i caoocatiuj yn jzqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn itecpan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc placed himself. He spread out all the white reeds and leaves,[26] and cactus leaves, strewn with the sweet-smelling herbs; provided with the sweet-smelling herbs.

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaiaoa in aztapili, yoan in quequexqujc, yoan nopalli, yiauhcitlan tlaaquilli, tlayiauhujlli:

[413] Then he placed [upon the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there, then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue, wherewith he struck each of the green stone balls. As he went striking [each one], he turned around.

njmā ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoloontli, tlatexoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecentetl in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocueptiuh.

24. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125) has "*rauch der Gestalt in der Art der heutigen Waare.*"

25. Described in Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 170. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 125, n. 1) cites Hernández (*op. cit.*, fol. 32) and defines it as the *chachalaca*. Cf. also Cecilio A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del Autor, 1904), pp. 542-3.

26. In a description of the Huastecs and their region, Sahagún writes: "*Se dan muy bien todas las hortalizas y cualesquiera frutas que por acá se dan, excepto es la que dicen quequexquic*" (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 131). Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 126) calls it *Physalisarten*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Jagobeer pomeranz*.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *tzauxlaut*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yzcaca, yzmaca, xixmaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacac, in cacnacantli, icpatl potonoquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ic in potonoquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ic no ic yn potonoquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonaviculolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tzotlapilollo:

Auh in tzotlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchios, quauhyujtl, quanmolocti, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia tzuxollotl, tzotzenoloio in chimalli.

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yc jchimal, ic momamina:

yoan yoxtopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: cxcan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitiquetztinemj, ic otzlayiauhtiuh.

Auh motlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixquichtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ic ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vncn in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, teccpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

[796x 300]

[796x 292]

[796x 293]

[237]

[535]

[314]

[796x 535]

[463]

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6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 12.

7. "Water-rose," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Nappa tonatli (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish reference reads: "Tenia una rodela pintada, con unas ojas verdes, de la suerte que se suelen entretexer." In Vol. III of the Bulmaro ed., p. 306, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Examen de pormenores e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Núm. 368 a 568) del libro XII, de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," subcommentary is dubbed as "*cabeza de negro. Nymphaea elegans, Hook, Nimphaeae.*"

8. "Otra manera de papagayos llamen tzauli y son entre amarillos entendo yo unas grandes y verdes y otras: crescen[sic] debaxo las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; entiendo todo esto entendido en ellos, unos papagayos menos todo es quasi[illegible], y por esto la llamen tzauli, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla" (Sahagún, Bulmaro ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

9. "Una flores en los cabos, hechas de plumas de aquellos" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapolin*, however, may be an elements in plumed headdresses.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "Otra manera de papagayos hay que llamen xoxlot (y) es muy semejante al que llamen tzauxlaut; tiene el pico amarillo y verde, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo verdes, las exteriores y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado escuro, semejando rosa amarilla; las plumas pequeñuelas que cubre sobre la cuerpo del ala que llamen tzuxlaut, son amarillas semejando de colorado; el vello, cerca pelo verde, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado semejando de amarillo" (Sahagún, Bulmaro ed., Vol. III, p. 146).

12. Cf. diagram (Sánchez, *op. cit.*: "*Entre estuvieron quatro en derredor*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "Estando bayleando en el corrro, yendo entrando al derredor, y alrededor [en] e cuerpo del bayle."

1/A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Anályst]

X 796 cords, called flower cords, and thus went stretched
535 out in line. They went with wormwood flowers[13]
placed upon their heads.

[533] And they went singing, crying out loudly, singing in a very high treble. As the *cenzontli* bird takes [its song, so was] their song. Like a bell their voices [rang out].

The old men led [the singing women]; they loosed the song and went directing them—the men and elders of the tribal temple. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went in the midst of them. Before her went a brilliant feather ornament which an old man carried in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[14]

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was sung the women's song every day until all ten days had been reached. And when the tenth day had come to pass, that night she began her vigil. They sang [and danced] all night. At no time did they rest; they passed the night sleepless. Thus they passed the night in vigil.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women seized her and held her as they made her dance.

Likewise the captives danced all the night—those who would come first, who would die [first], as her fundament; those whom they would make her fundament.

X 796 And when dawn broke, when verily the feast day
792 [came], then were arrayed the priests who would slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti. They were adorned and painted like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face painting of Uixtotin. They carried their paper neck rosettes and their paper shoulder rosettes. And their [head] insignia were made [like] the claws of eagles, [made] of quetzal head feathers and eagle down.

X 796 And the legs of the eagle were also made of eagle
● 293 down. These insignia [were supported] upon wooden head rests with holes [in the head rests, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here lay the insignia, tied [across the back], bound around the stomach with cotton bands, tied firmly and tightly. And their cords were bands, narrow woven bands.

And all the common folk who looked on, all car-

motzilinjotiuj: yn jhintzahiazcahuh, yn icpac cuecatiuj:

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapitzaoc: iuhquin tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intzaquj:

qujniacana in uruetque, cuicatlaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj, in calpulleque, in calpulleuetque: yoan motocaiotia tzoaque.

Auh in Uixtociuatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacal qujiacana, ce tlacatl ueue in qujnapalou: auh ynjn mitoaia uixtopetlacal.

Auh in iehoatl uixtociuatl, momuztlac in qujcuicapancujcatiaia, yn inqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oncito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im pepa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh cricoual, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioultia, iuh uetzi in ioalli.

Auh in Uixtociuatl, mitotia cuana, caaxtinemj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

no iuh cricoual in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiaque mjquiaque, in iuhquj ypepechoan icaque, in quj,nopepechtiaque.

Auh yn otlachujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, nec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictinque: in iehoan y, motocaiotinia Uixtoti, moujxtoychioa, motujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuepal: auh yn jntlauiz, quauitztil muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quilmolocio.

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quilmolocio, ynjn tlauiztli cacaxao, cococuio, yn uncl onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic motzitzillancujtlalpia, ic motetevlpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmomecaio, tlaxochtli, tlaxochpiztacti.

(340) Auh in jaqujch tlacatl macoualli, in tlatlatza, mu-

[137] 13. Cf. p. 88, n. 27. Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines it as *ocoxochitl ixtetzonic*; see, further, note 15, below. Molina (*op. cit.*) has "Yxtetzonpol. *ocoxochitl o ocoxochi yetzon*"; Siahagún (*loc. cit.*) has the same. See also Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 252.
14. "*Yo plumaje muy hermoso, hecho a manera de ramaje de arbol*" (Siahagún, corresponding Spanish).

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who [at] had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vine," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in iuquich tlacatl in çaçan tlacaxol, telpopochti: çan tilitic yn jacuechin, nauhi tenjan, yoan nauhcintin inxixinh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan iacoxiolnacoch: auh in cocoxiolnacoche: auh yn jaxtempilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlaxtli, cequj itzcujxtempilolli, cequj apatlactli, axoço tlaxaxercili.

Auh yn telpopiuhtin, in ie tzotzocolloque, ymaxchichilacachrempilol:

auh yn iuquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoxtl yn xiaoltempilolli in cotlalia.

Auh in teachcauan, ymelpanczuquj, ymelpanczuquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuxcachachapac: iehoxtl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti quinamjctia, iehoxtl in tzotzontepilolli: auh yn otomj quinamjctiaia, iehoxtl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in motecommati, in tiacauan, quimococouja tiuchipuli in cuaxoxtl, cenca chipahuac: auh in ça tlaztacuja in ça tlaitoquiliia, iehoxtl yn achipulin quimococuiaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaxac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjnc, in telpuchiaque, intotoltlamanal, in cõquetzaltzinenj yn imicpac.

Auh in tepujoaque, quauhtzontli in quimamaia, ezcan yiettinh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelotzontica in tlaquimilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequintin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequintin aztaxelli, in cequintin quaxotxl in conquetza, in cequinti yxtlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcapa in cõtlalaia chochotli, vel iehoxtl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoxtl yn maçaxuatl, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tilli incamapan contlalaia, ioca tilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequintin ymixquac qujujca in tilli, in nacaxtitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilxotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions *zarcillos*, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 144) has *dieses Perlenhalsband* for *pannonzicollares*.

They said unto him:

"Go, my friend! Though thou art a brave man, a warrior, how may we care about thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, may we die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; and much else besides.

And thereafter, when they had cast him out, he slowly crept away, going backwards and on all fours, lamenting as he went. Thus he went off, nevermore to sing and dance with the others.

And the matrons cast out the woman. Nevermore would she take up the song and dance with the others. Nevermore would she clasp hands with the others [in dance]. Thus they dismissed her; the leaders of the maidens cast her out forever.

And the woman who had sinned evermore went alone. Never might she hope once again to sing and to dance with the others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman, then married her, and quieted the affair with her.

And before the real feast came which they called Uei tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, when the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died, her face was painted in two colors. Thus she was stained yellow about her lips, and her forehead *chili*-red. From her paper cap, which had four corners, hung quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; and [she wore] a wide neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of turquoise. She wore a golden disc, as breast ornament. Her shirt and skirt had the water lily [flower and leaf design]. She wore princely sandals, carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rustic stick were *chili*-red. In the four directions she entered, or went down into, the sand.[7]

For this reason was it said, "She goeth into the sand": in this way she foretold her death—that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we went to arrive, we reached [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquizcan. The third place in which she entered [the sand] was Atenchicalcan, and for this reason was it called Atenchicalcan—that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the qujlhuja,

Xiuuh nocne ꝯco toquichtli, ꝯco titiiacauh, quen timiztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toquich miqujcā:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc nujec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiouhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicocotiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, tlrentiuh, ic centlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanon.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtoteca, in ciuatetiachcaueuh: aoqujc no teoā cujcoanon, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcennacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn oalatlaco, iconmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachia, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanon.

Auh in iehoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauccujlia.

Auh yn iaamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn motenoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itēco coztic, auh yn izquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn iconaqj chalchiujtl miecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiuipil yoan yaxochiacue yhiacac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoā yn ichicaoan chichiltic, nauhcampa yn ꝯquja anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaqoj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeoalhia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vecan vncan in tacticacan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoquizcan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic motenoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalchoioaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn

796[x] 684 836

796[x] [302] 301

[292 293]

796[x]

796[x] 805

7. Knowing the road was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and hoping in view of the antiquity of the deities whose functions were honored by it. The explanations in both Sahagún's Spanish text and Old Aztec columns is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquja* is probably an assimilation of *aoquja*.—Angel Maria Garibay, personal communication.

And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

auh in ic inhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoā comonj: in ic ihuquj, njmā ic ic quitetema: muchi .ichoutl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, conicpeoa: auh in omotetten, njman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ic ic vivilo̱a, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimoomana.

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motococauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in quimaima tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoā in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhiccitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncā chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic motenteoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamātivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmā ic imamatzon, quinquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomolon.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmā ie ic mocacaoa, quincalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, quinpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peoa in quintoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: quintzoncuj in mamalti, inīquanepantla, aquitzon intzō in mamalti, quintequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicuitlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli inic quitequja intzon: quitocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ie iuhquj in oconcujque, njmā ic cōtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipōloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, bone. Bird flanks, however, are also suggested as this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissive and analogous.

given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "Curved Obsidian Knife."[9] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cinteotl] accompanied [the other]; they came together —not at a run, but at their leisure, approaching and slowly moving toward the temple, where died [she who was Toci's likeness]. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when dawn had reddened and it was light, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] climbed up to place herself upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And the noblemen, [who] already stood awaiting her, then all converged upon her. Then they ministered unto her. One of them applied feathers to her head and her feet—soft eagle down; another painted her face; another offered her her shirt with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; another decapitated a quail for her; [still] another set incense before her. [All this was done] very swiftly. Then it was quiet; then all departed.

And when they had left, then came forth her rich vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banner. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle was the market place banner. There were five [banners in all]. In the midst was the one market place banner, and four [of them] were on the sides—two on each side. [This headdress] was called *amiuiti*."[9]

And when they had attired her, then they brought the first four of the captives before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one [of the four] out upon the offering stone; she herself then slew [the victim] as an offering. She cut open the breasts of [all] four in the same way.

When she had slain these four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cinteotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. At a little distance, her Hunters went ahead. They were girt with twisted [paper] breech clouts, and had their mirrors on the smalls of their backs, and she bore her cotton blossom and precious feather spindle [with unspun cotton].

And the medicine [women] and those who sold lime went ranged on both sides, singing. The old priests proceeded, intoning the song, striking a small,

lic yiaxivitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jeoapan, in vmpa omjc: oc oppa vmpa ommotlalia. 796^ [292]

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotlecac, tlatlavilloti ena, mec oalmoquetza tlatempan: auh in jaquijch tlacati pipilti, ie quichintoque ipan ôntetepeoalo: njman ic quitlatlamaca: in aca qujxoua icpac, youa iqtic, quaubtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxoa: in aca cõmaca iquavipil, youa icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjliar: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan âcuiuhca: njmã ic cactivetzi, njman ic viviloa. [302] [292]

Auh in oviviloac: njmã ic oalquiça in jxeitlaquj motenexo: yiamacal, youa itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianquizpanjtl, tlacujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, ichoatl in tianquizpanjtl: auh navi necococmpa oome quitzacuatiuh: motenexo meotli. [292]

Auh in oc6cencuahque, njmã ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti inixpan, navintin: mec oc conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in quimjctia, quimelteuhquj: navintin, ish quinchixa:

in oquimõmjcti in navintin, mec inamac quimoalcaua in tletlenamacaque, inic quimjctinque, in oc conquixtin mamalti: mec inuh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: quivicatiuh in jcoanuh, in cinteotl ano itztlacoliuhquj: quiacana in jcoanen vecapa quiztivi, onacencuahque, inamemecamatli, youa incujxlatecuuh, in jichcauchiuh, mamalacapetzallo. [293] [283]

Auh in tiici, youa in tenextamacaque, nenoc onotivi, cujcativi: quincujcatlaxilitivi in quequechjli, [463] 796^ 534

9. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the Codex Borbonicus and of the Aubin Collection.
10. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Siler (*Mexico Enjoyed*, p. 177) adjusts the name to read; possibly it would as well be related to read.

And before she died, she danced. The old men beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—they intoned her song. And when she danced, she wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For time was but short; the span was but brief before she would suffer, when she would reach her end on earth.

And when the sun was past its zenith, they then took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[dess] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and vicars of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' remnants] was guarded.

And the vicar, the likeness, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain his burneth." His granary was Itshicomol[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

Auh in nimo mjqui mjotoiaia, quitlamocemjlaia in veveteque, in cujcanjtoc, quicujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjotoiaia, vel mochoquilíaia, yuan elcicivia, mocieppoa: ichica ca ça achitonca, ça ixquich cavitl y, ça ixquich cavitonli y, inic ontlacotia, in ic compolea tlaltícpactli.

Auh in jquac ômotencalo tonatiuh: njmã ic ic quitlecavia in tzacaltícpac, quitzinzquitivi, quitocativi in jxquichtin im jxtiplaoã diablome compantitivi, teicticuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel-quimoteutia tlaltícpac, ça tlacatl in quichichioaia.

Auh in ocmaxitiquc, njmã ic conchequj: auh in ômomjquili, njmã ic quixalquechcotona: auh in jmontecõ, quixalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in quitzinzquitiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiauhtiuh in tõtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, quiniacantiuh in jxquichtin imjxtiplaoan, in impactilooan Diablome, quixaliauhna in teucalli, njman ic oalmo, çã no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in otzmoco tlalchi, njmã ic ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipiolo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxiptla Ilama tecutli: inic mjtotiaia tzinzintlaça, itzintlampa in conjaoa icxi: yuan ic motlatlaquechtiuh inapil, ôtlatl:

in jiacac, in jquac, encan in mazaltic, iuhquin mjnacachalli: motecaciotia, yiotlavitztil, auh in juh mjtotiaia y, mjtoa, motzineoa in Ilama tecutli: yoã xniacatl cõmaquja, octampa tlachia, texxaxacaltic, texxaxacalpul, yuan itzotolonpol, auh in jcpac panttotzti tecpantec, vipantec: iuhquin icpacxuchiuh mochico:

yuan in jquac y, no motemoua icuencõ tlatla: ic jcuecxox quichichioaia ocoquavid in quinenepanoaia, iuhquin colotli, ic quitlalilaia camaquimjlaia, camaxpechco, vncan quiquentia in quauhxicalco:

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mandado por vosotros, porque de pensaron; pero que no con otras plumas). A ingresaban en estos primeros, y de allí penetraron, otras plumas grandes de águila."

4. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 204) writes, however, that "a esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y entristecerse cuando (como arriba se dixo) que siempre sirve Dios) y sin se entristecia, suspirando, y llorando, con la memoria de la muerte, que de presente, y cerca esperaba."

5. Chichioa may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the next chapter (fourth) Sahagún notes that "hazian la estatua del dios de fuego de arquitos, y palos atados, como una cruz, que ellos llamaua cruhuli, que quiere decir atadero o cruzado."

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was he[fight]er as a young warrior. He imitated a young warrior, with his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the temple above, and brought a maguey leaf on which was a small banner.

When he came down to the ground, he then went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin, and there he placed the maguey leaf.

And when he had placed it there, then appeared the priests, hastening greatly, as if [all] strove to be first. This was known as, and called, "The Flower Race." [For] they climbed up to the temple, where the flower was. It was named "Flower of the God."

And upon reaching the summit, then the priests laid fire to, and burned, the grain bin. Once again they descended, rushing down with the flower; they cast the flower upon the eagle vessel, in which the grain bin burned. Then all the priests ran off, in all directions. Enough of this.

And upon the morrow, then began [the sport of] casting bags at people. All made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets, and filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of papers. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine and bound it to the inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made] as it were like gloves, also filled with reed flowers; [these] were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which were made into bags: they pressed the leaves into balls.

And now it was commanded that none should put stones [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys played purely in fun when they began the mock-fight with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, as it flared [in intensity], blows were struck, perchance at the heads [of the participants], or their backs, or their breasts, as they dealt blows.

And the older boys cast bags at the maidens—those [yet] with long hair[dress]—wherever these came before them. They cast bags at them, surrounded them, [so that] in truth, they made some of them weep. And when some woman took forethought, if she went forth, she carried her staff, or else [carried the branch of] some kind of thorny plant. If anyone came upon her to cast a bag at her, she pursued him; she was thus defended.

And if she carried nothing for her defense, verily

auh ce tlenamacac in mochichioaia, motelpuchchichioaia, telpuchtli ipan quiça icuechin, yiaztaxcl, ichochol itcpilol: vmpa oalcoa in teucalticpac, metl quiviccan, pilcentli itech icaxivitz. 796r [293]

In oacico tlalchi: ninã ie ic vmpa inin in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuecuomati, vmpa contlalia in metl.

Auh in ocõtlali, ninã ie ic eoa in tlamaçaque, cenca motlaloa, inhquin mopapanavitivi: motenecoa, motococaiotia. Suchipaina, quitlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca xochitl: itoca Teuxochitl.

Auh in opanvchoato: ninã quitlemjna, quitlecavia, in cuecuomati in tlamacaque: no ceppa oalteno, quioalcujcujxiquiça in xochitl: vncã quioallatimanj in xochitl in vncã quauhxicalco, in vncan tlalo, cuecuomati: ninã motlatlalo, in tlamacaque, çan ic quixtimanj, çan oc ie inquich.

Auh in jnnantlaioc: ninã ie pena in nochichiquavila, inquich tlacati quipeuchichivilaia chichiquatli: in acamatlad in quecaia, vncã quitentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amatocotolli: in amatl quipochina, quipopochina, in jtic quicacatza: auh in cequintin inhquin macpalli, quexaia matlatl, no quitentiquetza in tolcaputl: motococaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequinti çan itzcuitl in quipeuchichivilaia, in quimochichiquetzaia: itzcuitl in quixaxapaxillalaia. 796r 286

Auh in jquac nemoaxtlaia, injc niac tetl itic quitlalia: çan onevilpoca, çan oc pipiltecatzi in quipecaltiaia in mochichiquaxtlaia, çan ioh ficnti veia: injc moiaiaxtla inhquin cecuenj ic moviviteqvj, aço injcpac aço iacatlapan, aço inicpan in quimotlaxilia. 796r

Auh in telpopochpipil, quipachichiquavinia in ichpopochti, ixhuexia in tzonpeoaque, in jquac inijcpan quiça, vncan quichichiquavia, cuelleuja, in ica vel quichichectia: auh in aca cioal monemachtia, inin canapa ian ihhuavid quipqui, anoço tlacatecolonocoviztli: inin aca ie vitz, quichichiquavitz, ic quipoca, ic nemaquetla.

Auh in aca aic quipqui, inemaquetzaia, vel cuahl-

X 796 274 each [of the old men] a bowl of wine, or a gourd for each, or a small earthenware jar for each; quite freely and purely of their own accord they brought with them the wine, pouring it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking wine and refreshing themselves, not, [however,] becoming drunk.

Enough of this.

X 796 For when were ended these twenty days of Izcalli, thereupon set in the five days of *nemontemi*, or *nenonteme*, which are not counted.[9] And the *nemontemi* were feared and held in awe. None commanded others, none quarrelled [with others]. And if any, at this time, disputed with others, it was said they would always do thus. And he who was born at this time they named Nemo. They said: "It hath been said that [he hath] no day sign. No reward is his; he will live in misery. He will live in poverty upon the earth."

[56L 777]

And during [the month of] Izcalli, in the first, second, and third years, nothing [in addition] was done. But on the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. At that time died those [adorned as] Itzcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli—ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

And upon the morrow, on the morning of [the feast of] Izcalli, the bathed ones entered the sand. They brought them into the sand there at Tzonmolco. All the women carried all their womanly array, and the men carried all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them their paper adornment; it went upon a wooden globe.

● [293]

And when they brought them there, thereupon they arrayed them, [so that] all were ornamented. They put upon them their paper array. And when all were prepared and arrayed even as Itzcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women adorned also in the same manner, thereupon all climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco, in rows. And when they came reaching there, they circled about the offering stone. Then, once again all came down, likewise walking in rows.

And when they came down, thereupon they took them to the tribal temple, and then took apart [the paper vestments], and put [the victims] in a house and guarded them well. And they fastened the men

çan in icllocopa, çan in icllotlamati, in comcaxa vetli, quiçaahcoxtimanj apaxco: auh tlaoliloque in veromque, tzacalcervizoque, amo ivinti:

in izquich.

Auh in onqujo y, compeualli Izcalli, njmã ie ic calmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemõtemj, anoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacaxoia, mauhcaiitoia, aiac teaoia, aiac mauia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, quiimach cenquiçuj. Auh in aquin vncan tlacati: quiiocaiotlaia. Nemo: quiiouia, quiimach itle ilhuj, itle imacetzal mochioa, quihiiovitiremja, vmpa onquiitinemja in tlaltiçpac.

Auh in jpan jxi Izcalli: inic ce xiuitl, yoan ic ontiuitl, yoan iquexiuitl, itle mochioa : auh quin ic nauhxiuitl in moveichioa, quiniquac mjquja in Itzcoçauhque, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaoltilti, in quẽmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjntin.

Auh in ie inh muntla, in ie ontlatvi Izcalli: in tlaoltiliti, onxalaqui, quimotxalaquja in vmpa tzonmolco: in cioa mochi quiiquj, in jxquich inciouatlaquj: yoan in oquichtin, muchi quiiquj in jxquich inclatlaquj (in juh oniuo ceca): auh in jmamatlaquj, mochi quiimjequjlia: quenhtzontapaiolitica ieieuh.

Auh in oquimmaxitiq, njman ie ic quinchichioa, techichicalo, quimomaaquja in jxquich imamatlaquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh inic mochichioa, ivin mochichioa Itzcoçauhquj: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin mochichioa: njmã ie ic tleco in tzonmolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpan vetzino: njmã ie ic quiualoaloa in techicol: njmã ic no ceppa, calmomo, no motzcpãtivitza.

Auh in otzmoco njmã ie ic quiavica in calpulco, mec quiiaxitinja, vncan mocencalhila, vel q'iquipio: in oquichtin quiiuilhmocaietia, in jquac tlaxixa quiiuitilinjtivi. Auh in oncic icoaltepantla: njmã ie

9. Sahagun (op. cit., p. 206) refers to the "*Nemontemi* (nemontemi Yuqa) *dia fue vacio quardan vacuos*"; i.e., they were dedicated to no god. The meaning of the verb *nemi*, however, is to run.

And they fastened the new

with a rope about the waist, and [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when it was midnight, then hair was cut from the [crowns of] the heads of all of them; they cut their hair as hath been told and published. And when their hair had been cut, then feathers were pasted [to their heads], and also they pasted feathers [to the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the guards might sleep by day.[10]

And when day began to break and it grew bright, thereupon (as hath been told) were burned the [bathed ones' raiment]; when these were burned, then once more they entered indoors. And none did not burn their belongings, but offered and gave them to others.

And when it dawned [again], then all were once more adorned. Thereupon they went to the place where they were to die; they went ordered in rows. When they reached where they were to die, then they danced and sang spiritedly. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had passed the zenith, then descended [he who was adorned in the likeness of] Peynal. He led and was first among the captives, who would become the fundament [of the ceremonially bathed victims]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the ceremonially bathed ones, who [were adorned in the likeness of] Itzcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the chiefs and lords, who were men due great reverence, were ready, and stood waiting in complete array. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise diadem, the royal diadem.

And all put on their turquoise nose plugs and [their] turquoise ear-pendants, [made of] fine turquoise. And some [had] only [ear pendants] made of wood and painted like turquoise. And they put on their sleeveless jackets and turquoise [blue] waist bands well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel which had the form of a dog. [It was] made of paper and painted turquoise [blue]. And [they put on] breech clouts of paper painted with black stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands were staves, which were small and shaped like weaving sticks and painted in two colors—red above and chalky white below. In either

ic tetzoncujoa, quintzoncuj: in jnh omjo, in jnh omotenoh: nnh in onetzoncujoac: njmā ic ic tepotonjlo, no quinpotonja in cioa: nnh in jnh ceiooal, aocac ma ondacacochi in tlapixque.

796[X] [514]

Auh in otlavincalli moquetz, in ic tlatlalchipoca: njmā ic ic motlatlaclatilia (in jnh omjo) in ommotlatlaclatilique: njmā ic ic no ceppa calaqui in inician: nnh in aca qmo quimotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan quitetlauhcia, çan quitemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmā ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmā ic ic vi in vmpa mjquijque, motecpaha: in onacique vmpa mjquijque: njmā ic ic mjtotia, mocoyca ellaquaoa: omach intzaquitzaatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque: [593]

Auh in ic ommotzcalca tonatjuh; njmā ic ic tlatemo in Paynal, quinoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti, in inpepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmā icheō in tlaaltilti in itzcoçauhq.

Auh in ocentlaque mjquj in ic iuhquj: nnh in jaquichtin tlaoque, in tetecutin jn cenca mavizitilonj, ic ic monj, ça quichixtimanj omocencauhq, quinjacana in Motezcuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlaocaiotl:

796[X] 301 [643]

yoan contlalia icxxivitl in muchinti, yoā conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequintin çan quavitl in tlachioolli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cōnaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaicochioalli, yoā in xolocuaquj inhquja chichitom ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acxilquj injc tlacujlolli: nnh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in inmac oncochih quavitl, çan tepitoton tlamomopanitzli, chictiquiquj; in aco chichiltic, nnh

796[X] 293 [386]

10. "En aquella noche nadie durmió", seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*. See, however, Angel María Garibay K.: "Recalificaciones de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II (1945), p. 171, for a discussion of these in comparison.

[796] [293] hand they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon they came down [from the temple], dancing rapidly.

And when they had descended, then they circled [the courtyard], they went around [the courtyard] only four times. And when they had danced, then they dispersed and went away, and thereupon all entered the palace in proper order. And this was known as the Lordly Dance; [for] all the lords danced the Lordly Dance, [and] it was the privilege exclusively of the chiefs that they should dance the Lordly Dance. This was done every four years.

[535 622]

Thus [was it done].

[304] Early in the morning was begun the boring of ears, when they pierced the ears of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft, white feathers, which went mixed with the yellow ones.

[796] 608 [931] And for a gift they made *pinolli*.[11] And the mothers sought out some master of the youths, seasoned warrior, or leader of young men who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become their [children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be an aunt, and they offered her gifts.

To the man they offered perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And gifts were also offered—they also offered gifts to—the women.

[304] And when they pierced the ears [of the children], thereupon they took the little ones to singe them; they laid and made a fire, and scattered much incense over the flames.

And hence it was said: "They are singed." The old men of the tribal temple seized all of them. They took the small children and dedicated them over the fire. Then they gave them uncles and aunts. And the small children cried out and whimpered. Then they went to their homes.

[796] And when they had gone to their homes, thereupon all ate and drank.

273 535 And then, in the temple, began singing and dancing at midday. Then once more all went to the temple. The uncles and the aunts carried the small children; carriers took the wine, poured into small gourds which they carried, and [poured] into small earthen jars. And when they arrived there, all sang. Thereupon was quieted the dance; they carried the small children upon their backs. Then they went giving them wine. All gave it to each other.

in tlanj tiçaio: cecentlapal quitzitzquja amaxiquj-pilli; njmā ic ic oalcemo mjnotivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmā ie ic tlaiaoalloa, çā nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjotiquc mec nexixtinjlo, texixtinjlo, njmā ie ic calaoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloc. Auh in ichoatl y, motenteoa: netecujxotilo, motecujxotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujxotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in mochioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazzapotlaloia in quinnacazzapotla pipiltotonti: yoan quinpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in tuetli.

Auh in ventli in quichioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, ichoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhquja tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizqu..: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz, qujtlauhtiaia:

in oquichtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no modauhtiaia, no quj-tlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazzapotlaloc; njmā ie ic quinvivica, in quinchichinoaque pipiltotōti: qujtlalia tleil, tlatlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli conepeoa tleco.

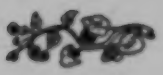
Auh injc moteneoa techichinōlo in calpulhuevetque, quinoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco quimonjauhtimanj: njman ic quinoalmacatimanj in tētlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhquin tlazzatzatzi, iuhquja tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic ietimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmā ie ic tlatlaqualo, haatlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmā ic no ceppa viloa in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan quinvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlanquj ietiuh in vetli, in tlatoiacalli xicalhuicoltica in quintquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacic... yncā cujco: njmā ie ic ommomana in mitoia, quinnamana in pipiltotonti: vncā quimomaçatimanj, quimomacatinemj in vetli: netech quimomamaca.

11. The *Real Palacio* MS here contains the line *pinoal yn chiaoapinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chia seeds.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7



Temple of Uitzilopochtli

Conrepeti[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznauac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shaped. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all then danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Iiopoch.

And in the morning Paynalteiu came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its humming bird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back were hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli festival

conrepeti. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, cepa in quiçaia illuiuh, in quihuiquitilitia, yn ipan ce xihuitl. 796[1]

Inic cepa ipan in mitoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in ihcuac vitzilobuchtli, yn omentin yn iuoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quiçacuiuiuja in ihcuac vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazqui, in telpuchtli in quinaualoaia: auh yn ixiptla cuca vitzilobuchtli, çan tlaolli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli. [776] 776 796[1]

Auh ynic vme in iuoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tlaolli in ixiptla cuca.

Auh in nochiuaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in nochiuaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznauac calpuleo: auh ceniuecal in quinicuxiuiuia, in quiçatlacatilaia.

Auh in otlatuje, in otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic nexotilo, necocoloio: auh çan ic oncalaqui, in tonatiuh, in quiçatlacauiaia: auh yn oquimonotlalito, njman ie ic oalcemoa, vmpa oriual cate: yuan quiçapiaia tlamacazque, yn iuoca Iiopoch: [793]

Auh yn otlatuje, ninan ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yuiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinaualoa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauhtli cuca ictinh: auh in quinaualoa, inoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca nochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal yuje nochichioaia, yvitzitzilinacal, yianecoiouh, yeacujcapol, ychalchiuhcuexpi: auh yn icujcapan pilcatiuh, ihcuac in cujcatecoc, çan nauhe in tzuuiuil: 796[1] 293

1. See Lib. III, esp. I, § 2.
2. Translated in comparison of Uitzilopochtli (Tezozomoc, op. cit., pp. 146, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulmaro ed.), Vol. III, p. 111.

3:796 [293] all of fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] carried his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Tzatlachco, then [men] were slain before him. Those who died, who were named Amapantzitzin, were both impersonators [of the god Amapan].[4] And many more captives [also] died.

And when they were slain, then they began the procession of Paynal. They arrived at Tlatelolco, and when they had arrived there, the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense and beheaded many quail [before him]. And when they set forth [again] and reached Popotlan; and in the same way the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived there at Chapulteper, and in like manner the common folk greeted him and burned incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. Thereupon they continued and arrived at Tepetocan, and also the common folk came out to meet him and offered up incense and also beheaded many quail [before him]. Then they set forth and reached Atzachinanco, and also the common folk came out to receive him, offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him].

Thereupon the insignia went forth first, and when the insignia arrived, thereupon they mounted to the top of Coatepetl,-where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, then they laid out the wooden serpent[5] and circled about it many [778] times. Then all came down from there.

auh in quiiacana quiquixtiuh yeuatqui, xiuitl ic tlaquiiollo.

Auh yn onacic, in teutlachco in paynal, njman ie ixpã mjona: ichcantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzitzin, çan vmẽtin teiniptlaoan: auh ieh cenca mjequjntin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn onamjcoac, njman ie ic vmpeoa, yn tlaiaoalo Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatilulco, auh ynn onacic, njman ie ic quinamjquj in macoualli, quitlenamaquilia yoan miec çolin quicotonjlitia. Auh njman ie ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no ihỉ quinamjq'a in maçoualli, quitlenamaquilia: yoan miec çolin quicotonaia. Auh njman ie no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapulteper, çan no ihỉ quinamjquj in macoualti, quitlenamaquilia: yoan miec çolin quicotonjlia. Niman ie ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no quinamjquj in macoualli, quitlenamaquilia, yoan no miec çolin quicotona. Njman ie ic oalpeoa, valaci in vncan acachinanco: no quinamjquj in macoualti, quitlenamaquilia, no miec çolin quicotona.

Niman ie ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ie ic tleco, yn icpac coatepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn otlecoc, njmã ie ic contoca, ihỉ expanjtl, yn otlaixnalo: njman ie ic oalmo.

4. See esp. table, above.

5. See Ax. ch., end n. 17.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cinaxcpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacateccatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[6] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquiterpec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[7] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlixco or[8] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[9] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[10]

End

Auh inic nami caci ich icoac quitequiocaxtima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compenoltia in tequiocacatocatl aço mexicatl tequioa, anaço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cinaxcpanecatl tequioa in iquich tequiocacatocatl, auh uel icoac contlalia inpetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa conquixtoque in ueuei tlacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaocatl, tocuilhecatl, atempanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, tẽçacaoque cuitlanacochique quauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293]

Auh intla chiquacen intla chiconte anoço matlactin oquimacic cuenteccatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaxcequioa

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlixco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquiterpec inic macuilli caci icoac uel panuetzi inic ueitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui tẽçacatl ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac tzucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no icoac maco in tlmatli chicuepalnacazmiuqui, ioan cuetlatilmatli.

Auh intla ome caciuh in atlixco anoco uexotzinco ie ic ocotlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in cotic tẽçacatl ioan ixuexti quixitlani in xoxouhqui tẽçacatl.

fin

3. *Tzoalli* "Haxe cabo ali Huaxteca [Oluteca, Ulmeca, Mixteca] cuido hacia el occidente del rio, y Mexicalcingo cambia nombre, porque habita hacia Mexicalcingo"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *Atlipiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anaço*.

6. *Quiahtlani*: a marginal gloss in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *auer*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text, and, in Nahuatl, *op. cit.*, *itlani*, *itlanio*, *itlanilia*.

7. Following *xoxouhqui*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in xoxic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.
A passage like one of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has NO test material]

Andat the time when the captive was to die, then

782 Moctezuma presented the captor a device [with]
293 quetzal feather cups so that possessing it he might
727 slay him as a sacrifice. It did not belong to him; but having it he slew the victim, and he danced with it. He had his rattle stick with him, or the obsidian butterfly or quetzal feather cup [device] set with gold, which he carried upon his back. Possessing it, he slew him as an offering.

nimā ye ic quimaca in motecouiçoma in tlamiotli quetzalcomitl inic ypan tlamictia. amo uel ytech ponia çan ipan tlamictia. ypan mitotia ychicuaz yetiuh. anoço itzpapalotl. anoço quetzalcomitl teocuitlayo in q'mama in ipan tlamictia.

796 And the captive he then took there where he was
727 to die, upon the round sacrificial stone; he proceeded to take the captive by the head, and lead him. up there where they would slay him in the gladiatorial sacrifice. The one known as Old Wolf led him by the hand—he in whose care lay the captives, as if they had become his sons. And then he gave [the victim] his four pine cudgels, which he would hurl at his adversaries. And he gave him his shield, and his war club—not edged with obsidian blades but only pasted with feathers.

auh i yeuatl malli. niman ic quiuica in ompa miquiz temalacac icpac cantiuh contlehcauia, in oncan q'uahuanazqz malli. ymac concaua ytoca cuitlachueue. in imac onacitimanca mamalti inhq'nma ypilhuā quinchiuaya. Auh niman cōmaca ȳ yocotmonteuh nauhtetl inic q'momotlaz tlauauanq'. yuan q'maca ychimal ymacquauh. amo tenitzyo çan tlapotonilli.

[793] And those who contended against him in gladiatorial sacrifice were the fire priests and the [other] priests. And the captor remained standing below; he stood regarding his captive. He who died was indeed before [his captor].

Auh y yeuantin in teuauanayā in tletlenamacaqz in tlamacazqz. auh in tlamani çam moquetzticac tlatzintlan quitztlcac in imal. uel ispā im miq'.

[273] And after this, when the Old Wolf had arrayed the captive, thereupon he went, and gave him to drink wine which was called the gods' wine. He took it to him [in] a vessel [painted like] reeds and edged with feathers. When [the victim] had drunk, then he raised [the wine] in dedication [toward] where the sun came forth. So [Old Wolf] did with all the shields and war clubs; he raised all of them as offerings which he gave the captive. When Old Wolf had offered the captive [wine] and made him drink it, thereupon the slayer of the sacrificial victim went forth in order to sacrifice him. [He had] his shield and his war club edged with obsidian blades and covered with feathers.

Auh ȳ ye iuhqui in oc̄e-ncauh malli in cuitlachueue, niman ye ic yauh quitia in octli mihtouaya teoctli. inic quitq' acatecomatl tlatempotonilli. in ōya. niman ic conisua in ompa ualquiça tonatiuh mochi iuh q'chiua in chimalli im macquauitl moch coniaua. inic cōmaca malli. auh in oconiti cuitlachueue. niman ye ic yauh in tlamicti inic q'uauaz ychimal ymacquauh yetiuh tenitzyo tlapotonilli

And when he had drunk, then he struck at the captive, who likewise struck back. And if the captive were of stout heart, if he were verily a chieftain, really manly, perhaps three or four men fought him. Then, when he fell, they indeed slew him as a sacrifice. And if he were not manly, not a chieftain, then he cast himself there on the round sacrificial stone, and did not fight. Forthwith was he stretched out upon his back, and then they gashed open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it in dedication there [toward] where the sun came forth.

auh in ōya. niman ic cōuiteq' im malli. auh no q'ualhuitequi auh intla yollo chicauac im malli intla uel tiacauh y uel oq'chtli. aço yey tlacatl anoço nau tlacatl in q'moycheculia. q'niquac uel q'mictia in ouelhuetz. auh intlacamo oq'chtli intlacamo tiacauh çan niman ōmoteca in oncan temalacac amo ontlachecoua. çan iciuhca ommaqu-tztiteca niman ic conchcq' concnilia in iyollo coniauilia in tonatiuh. ompa ualq'ça

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Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moc- zuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shorn ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecciuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh i mastlatl. 701 293 [438]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlaxtecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlaxtli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im motecciuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [574]

Auh no yquac quimahcena in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacatecatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacatecatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya motecciuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichicueè çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopalŧ̃uuuanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacoscayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteẽuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicximaya. motecciuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuicate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in 701 721

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *xiuhuelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [stripe of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held sway. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Text is repeated in the MS.

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293

Auh in otlatvic in ic ilhuiuh ipan, in ioatrinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monectolia, itpan oncenpani quitlenamaquilia, itpan quimana in itquican venth in tlacatlaquilli, in tzoalilacazcalli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoquixtique in itepeioc: auh in itquich tlacatl in telpopochtequioque iuhquin necocêquetzalo, iuhquin in ioiolipã in jlhuitlazque, in ilhuitlamatinque, inic quintlattitinque, quintlamaviçoltinõ, quintlaixtlatinque, in Españoles:

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778
295
785

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitcalco, inic vmpa nococololoz. Auh in ococnquixnoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan nococololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ocoquavitl: auh in aquin maxiaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iaztazel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicuitlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, caculhuitequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conixiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacaxtertiuh niac temacnaoati:

787

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cenca icholi tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincitca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quiztzacujliaia: auh in ic itquich telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolloque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in mocenoa in telpuchiaque, in oc ic nemj, in oc cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quintzaquaia: quimjlhuiaia, vmpa xivil qn nocne, anquitititia, amo techmo.

3021

[p. 52 is blank]

796 Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237] on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape,
● 293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititi, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlamj, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uej toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl quichiuhq̃ in jquac oqujzque Españoles vncan mexico.

Auh in oncic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujqujxtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn ixquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa quinçecencauhque, quinrlequentique, quinquequetzallotique, quinçococatique, quimcnaaquique xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quinquequentia in teuquezmjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in toxquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatqujtl in mexec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

njman qujoaltoquilia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã quivaltoquilia in xocotl uetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teotl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quecholli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititi matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlanj, ic matlacpoalli ocr: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjoque tulteca acalocn.

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquimjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli ocz, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, ommotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicuenjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoalitia. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiquizque quauhtitlampa izziaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiquizque in

1. So the Aztec reads (compendium: see Molina, op. cit., recitation, computation). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Girard, Guatemala).

2. See various translations in Soler, op. cit., p. 220.

3. The fifteenth and seventeenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be [301] recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he ●[293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[2] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[3] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin ceumjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocotoztlaliaia in iniaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctitoque, in aço qujtepuzmjviaque, in anoço qujtlequjqujxviaque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpolos injc amo iximachoz: in quenman tlavistli in ommequjaia, itenpilol ompiloaia, yoan itetecujtlanacoch yoã conmococatia in jcoquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, nezziuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc ommoquasqujmjlos, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpolos cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quaztone quauhtlalpiloni icuexochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhquin tetlepantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlaxque itetecujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjzti ietiuh in jmac: auh in tecujtlamatemecatl cuecuenio auh no ie in jcxic ietiuh, cotonotl, tescujtlacoxtzoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcalcitlan.[4] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa quiçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcalcitlã: auh njman no quiçaco in tlaxipanvia yoan in ie izquich tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in quintepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel moetzmanan in tlaiecotlitli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia izquich mjnalua in iniaovan, no izquich in mexicatl, necoc ivi, necocoio, iuh cenjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necalioac.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacauã in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle izpan qujmitta in iniaovã catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teica in ompeuh in Tzilacatzin.

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3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., X — *The Conquerors*, Chapter 29.
4. Campaign probably commonly in present.
5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco. — Cano, op. cit.

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamapococatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Coatlauac: 'O men of Coatlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Coatlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemolla[n]* together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bird. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec quinaoatia in Maichoutzin: 726
quilhuja. Tla xoniauh, tla xiquimonjlhuj in cujtlaoaca: Cujtlavacac, onechoaliva in amotlatocauh in Maichoutzin, xoconjttacan nechca moquetzticac mumuzco. Auh in oquicaoque cujtlaoaca, quivalitoque: Ca amo, ca oanquimictique: nec quimonjlhuja. Ca amo mjquj, vel, xocottacan ie in nechca icac: yoan quivalitoa, ca amo njmjquj, ma itla nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochalchiuh, in notlaviz: auh in oconttzonquizti in jtlatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ie ic necalioa, nec quivaltoca. Auh in tianquizco in vmpa copalnamacoian, aiaxcan in mocauh, vncā vecaoac in iauiotl. [293]

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tliliuhquitepeca, ateremoleque: ie quimottilique in vpitactli in calla quizticac, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ie calaquj in toiaovan: nec quinitoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequioa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapā ichan catca: nec quinoalnamjquj, njmā ic quicuitivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmā ipan ommotepeuhque, quinmjotivi in toiaovan: njmā ic contetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmetzviteoque: vncā in jnezcoaian: njman ic iaque, ōmocacauhque in mjcalli. [491]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "se repartió los enemigos de diversas."

[p. 108 is blank]

then seized upon a great chieftain named Tlapaltecatl opochtzin, whose home was Coatlan. Thereupon they arrayed him, and put on him the quetzal feather owl[13] which had been the device of Auitzotzin. Quauhtemoc said: "This device was the device of my begetter, of my father Auitzotzin.[14] Let him wear it. Let him die in it. May he gain honor before the people. May he become a portent in it. May our foes see and marvel at him."[15] And when they put it on him, he was indeed terrifying. Truly wonderful he appeared. And [Quauhtemoctzin] commanded four to aid him and be at his side. They gave him the darts[16] [and dart thrower] which were the devil's — the throwing spear with flint points.

And when they had done this, it became like a portent for the lords of the Mexicans. The ruler's vicar Tlacotzin said: "O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! Hath Mexico been nothing — that on which Mexican rule was founded? It is said to be with the power of Uitzilopochtli, which he hurled at one. It is none other than the fire serpent, the fire drill, with which he walked, casting it at our foes — which you, O Mexicans, have held as his power of the dart. Forthwith you will aim it against our foes. You will cast it not to the earth; you will hurl it with strength at [the foe]. And if one or two will be struck — if one or two of our enemies will be reached, — it is in truth a token for us [that] yet, for a little, we shall look to favor; [that] yet our lord [the god] may desire it." Thereupon went the quetzal-owl [bedight warrior], with quetzal feathers as if parted.

And when our foes saw him, [it was] as if a mountain had burst. In truth, all the Spaniards took fright; much did he terrify them, as if they had seen in him something [inhuman]. Then the quetzal-owl [warrior] climbed up to the roof terrace. And some of our foes, who could see him, stood up. Then they forced him to turn back, and took after tlaultzin. Nimā ic conanq̄ ce vei tiscauh, itoca Tlapaltecatl opuchtzin coatlan ichā njman ie ic quichichioa, conaqūiqque, in quetzalteculotl: itlaviz catca in Aujtzotzin: quijo in Quauhtemoctzin. Inja tlavizti, itlaviz catca in notechiuhcauh in notatzi Aujtzotzin, ma ichoatl conjtquj ma ipan ommjquj ma cōtemaviçōlti ma ipan tetlatiti ma quittacan in toiaovan ma qujmaviçocan. Auh in ooonaqujque vel temamauhti, vel maviztic in neci: auh navinti in qujnnavatique in qujvalpalevitiaxque, in qujvallamatilitiaxque, qujvalmacaque in jmjuh catca tlacateculotl, tlacumjtl, iacatecpaio.

Auh injc iuh quichiuhque in, iuhqujnma intlapoal muchiuh in tlatoque in Mexica: quijo in Civacoatl tlacutzin. Mexicae tlatilulcae, atlei injc mexico ocatcā, injc onamanca mexicaiutl: in mjtoa in vncan inavatil in vitzilobuchtli in tepā qujtlaça ca çan ie in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli in otepā qujtlaztinenca in toiaupan in ie anconcuj Mexicae in jnaoatil in mjtl: çan njmā vmpa anquitlachieltizque in ivicpa toiaovan, amo çan tlalpan anquimaiavizque cenca intech in anquitlaçazque: auh iatla ce, anoço vme momjnaz: auh in ano ce, anoço vme in maçis toiaouh ca nel totlapoal, oc achitzīn tinacazitztizque, oc quenin quimonequjltiz in totecujo: njman ie, ic iauh in quetzalteculotl, in quetzalli iuhquin zexeliuhtiuh.

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan, iuhqujn tepetl vitomj vel muchiotin momauhtique in Españoles, cenca qujnmauhti, iuhqujnma itla ipan qujttaque: njman ic tlapanco tlecoc in quetzalteculotl. Auh in cequjntin toiaovan in ovel qujttaque moquetzque: njman ic qujvalcuepque, qujvaltocaque: ie no ceppa no qujncuep qujntocac in quetzalteculotl, njman

13. Bustamante, op. cit., p. 211: "un buho (*búho de plumaje claro y espantable*)."

14. While Book XII was in press Dr. Anderson wrote the following comment from Florence, Italy: "The word is almost illegible in the MS. [reproduction of the original (Med.-Palat. 218-220, Laurentian Library, Florence)], in connection with researches in Europe made possible by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, suggests that *ovachihuitzcuil* (my mother or begetter) is meant."

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Estando en los mexicanos acaecido de todos partes de los enemigos acordaron de tomar prouados a aquesto el uno ya cautiuado en mexicano o si los quedasse luego de sangre de aquel yā pudiera en que estando y hablo el señor de mexico que se llamaua Quauhtemoctzin, y dixo a los principales que con el estaua . . . hagamos esperiencia a ver si podremos escapar destos pulgosos? que estamos cercados de los mas valientes que ay entre nosotros y estamos los armas y dixipos que gente de mal padre descendientes; luego llamaron a un mancebo valiente hombre que se llamaua Tlapaltecatl Opochtzin que era del barrio de coatlan donde es agora la parroquia del S.° estaua en el cimiterio."

16. The Aztec text may read *iuj iujuch*. *In jiujuch* is probably meant.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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Temple of Huichilobos, and that he wished to consult the Great Montezuma and have his approval. For this purpose he sent Jerónimo de Aguilar and the Doña Marina as messengers, and with them went our Captain's small page named Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language. When Montezuma knew his wishes he sent to say that we were welcome to go; on the other hand, as he was afraid that we might do some dishonour to his Idols, he determined to go with us himself with many of his chieftains. He came out from his Palace in his rich litter, but when half the distance had been traversed and he was near some oratories, he stepped out of the litter, for he thought it a great affront to his idols to go to their house and temple in that manner. Some of the great chieftains supported him with their arms, and the tribal lords went in front of him carrying two staves like sceptres held on high, which was the sign that the Great Montezuma was coming. (When he went in his litter he carried a wand half of gold and half of wood, which was held up like a wand of justice). So he went on and ascended the great Cue accompanied by many priests, and he began to burn incense and perform other ceremonies to Huichilobos.

Let us leave Montezuma, who had gone ahead as I have said, and return to Cortés and our captains and soldiers, who according to our custom both night and day were armed, and as Montezuma was used to see us so armed when we went to visit him, he did not look upon it as anything new. I say this because our Captain and all those who had horses went to Tlaltelolco on horseback, and nearly all of us soldiers were fully equipped, and many Caciques whom Montezuma had sent for that purpose went in our company. When we arrived at the great market place, called Tlaltelolco, we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise

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for you, and now again your vassals and Captains have become insolent, and hold secret consultations stating that you wish us to be killed. I do not wish to begin a war on this account nor to destroy this city, I am willing to forgive it all, if silently and without raising any disturbance you will come with us to our quarters, where you will be as well served and attended to as though you were in your own house, but if you cry out or make any disturbance you will immediately be killed by these my Captains, whom I brought solely for this purpose." When Montezuma heard this he was terrified and dumfounded, and replied that he had never ordered his people to take arms against us, and that he would at once send to summon his Captains so that the truth should be known, and he would chastise them, and at that very moment he took from his arm and wrist the sign and seal of Huichilobos, which was only done when he gave an important and weighty command which was to be carried out at once. With regard to being taken prisoner and leaving his Palace against his will, he said that he was not the person to whom such an order could be given, and that it was not his wish to go. Cortés replied to him with very good arguments and Montezuma answered him with even better, showing that he ought not to leave his house. In this way more than half an hour was spent over talk, and when Juan Velásquez de Leon and the other Captains saw that they were wasting time over it and could not longer await the moment when they should remove him from his house and hold him a prisoner, they spoke to Cortés somewhat angrily and said, "what is the good of your making so many words, let us either take him prisoner, or stab him, tell him once more that if he cries out or makes an uproar we will kill him, for it is better at once to save our lives or to lose them," and as Juan Velásquez said this

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for each one, and they turned out to be as good and fast as though they had taken a month to set up the models, for Martin López was a past master of the art, and it was he who afterwards built the thirteen sloops to aid in capturing Mexico, as I shall relate further on; he was also a good soldier in war time.

Let us leave this and say that Montezuma told Cortés that he wished to go to his temples and make sacrifices, and pay the devotion to his gods that it was his duty to do, so that his Captains and chieftains might observe it, especially certain nephews of his, who came every day to tell him that they wished to free him and to attack us, and he answered them, that it pleased him to be with us, so they should think it was as he had told them, that his God Huichilobos had commanded him to stay with us, as he had made them believe before. Cortés replied that as to this permission he asked for, he should beware not to do anything for which he might lose his life, and so as to prevent any disorders, or commands to his Captains or priests either to release him, or attack us, he would send Captains and soldiers [with him] who would immediately stab him to death, should any change be noticed in his bearing. He might go and welcome, but must not sacrifice any human beings, for that was a great offence against the true God, that was to the God we were preaching to him about, and there stood our altars and the image of Our Lady, before whom he could pray. Montezuma said that he would not sacrifice a single human being, and he set off in his rich litter in great state with many great Caciques in his company as was his custom, and they [293] carried his insignia in front of him in the form of a sort of staff or rod, which was the sign that his royal person was going that way (just as they do [now] to the Viceroys of New Spain). There went with him as a guard four of our Captains, namely, Juan Velásquez de Leon, Pedro de

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imi- 7/14
tating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes [643
"in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes 645]
"on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "ostaras" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 373). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 2d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu- "meria, doradas y labradas con diversas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le paréciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó hazaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus ceñidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de nequen, y aquestas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegase á la garganta del pié, fuese muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . ." Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 36). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 343). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war [302
"they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

"The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of [293
sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of such group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 332, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in frontur outside, and twenty- "five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each subdivision of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time;
[302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 66) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototi." It is "*Trogon resplendens.*" (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecholi" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1890, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quellos asi llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas agules . . ."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests ex-
702 cepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

● [293] As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

701 A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "mi-
619 nor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

701 Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que suelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces." "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas ajuretadas á la caueça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien afmados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuynacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 499) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[98] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap, XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 357).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 253) "Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron á rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxiuiti," from "Yacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 54). "braçalete."

[119] "matemecatl," "braçalete de oro, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

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golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Çihua-cohuatl" were entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Cozcatl," or "coxcapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaelel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro- "vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la caueça con plumeria." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Came" and "Vukub-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, reduccion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Sotomayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcence." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure *may* be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Miruttoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

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appoint his subalterns in the field, and as executor of justice he had the same privilege while at the pueblo. The "teachcauhtin," therefore selected his own assistants and runners. Accompanied by them and carrying his staff of office, whose tuft of white feathers intimated that his coming might threaten death,[164] the "elder brother" circulated through his calpulli, preserving order and quietness in every public place thereof. If he found or heard of any one committing a nuisance or crime, he could seize him forthwith and have him carried to the official house, there to be disposed of as the custom and law of the kin required. But it is doubtful whether, except in extraordinary instances, he was authorized to do justice himself without the council's knowledge and consent.[165]

Ere we pass over now from the functions of the kin to those of the ancient Mexican tribe, we must however dwell at some length on a peculiar institution, yet shared by the Mexicans in common with Indian tribes in general. We refer to the rank and dignity of CHIEF among them. Chieftaincy and office are far from being equivalent. The former is a purely personal, non-hereditary distinction, bestowed in reward of merit only, whereas the latter is a part of the governmental machinery.[166] Hence it follows that a chief might fill an office or not, and still remain a chief, whereas

personnes notables qui portaient le titre de achcacaulitin qui est un nom de charge, comme l'est aujourd'hui celui d'alguazils." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XVII, p. 305) calls the Achcacauhtli "(é verdugos) que tenian cargo de matar á los que condenaba el señor." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355), "llamabanse Achcauhtli, que quiere decir maiores." There is hardly any doubt as to their functions.

[164] White was the color of death. (Bleaching skulls and bones!) This is amply proven by their mode of declaring, or rather announcing, war. The custom of carrying "staffs of office" is well established.

[165] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI. cap. XXVI, p. 355). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI. p. 462) calls those "who arrested" delinquents "topilli." But this word means simply "rod, or baton of justice, staff, etc." (*Molina*, II, p. 150), and not office. There is no evidence that these officers might kill, without previous decision of the council, except perhaps in the great market place. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 83): "Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden, y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa." *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, p. 301) copies Cortés, adding, however, "é quieran lo que está falso, é penan al que usaba dello." *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, p. 89) simply remarks: "y otros como alguaziles ejecutores que miraban las mercadérias," (Vedia, Vol. II). I hardly need any reference in regard to the manner of acting and mode of appearance of the "elder brothers." Their functions of "police" are repeatedly described in the older sources.

[166] *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," p. 71): "Nearly all the American Indian tribes had two grades of chiefs, who may be distinguished as sachems and common chiefs. Of these two primary grades all other grades were varieties. . . . The office of sachem was hereditary in the gens, in the sense that it was filled as often as a vacancy occurred; while the office of chief was non-hereditary, because it was bestowed in reward of per-

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earnestness of his manner which eye-witnesses have mistaken for the haughtiness of a tyrant.[945]

These duties not only necessitated official residence at the "official house," but even permanent stay there, unless important business required the chief's absence.[946] Such absence, however, could only be justified by official duties, and then the "chief of men" had to appear with all the tokens and emblems of his rank.[947] If otherwise, he might indeed, go about, but he lost all claim to official recognition.[948] Hence the statements are true in the main, however exaggerated in detail, that great decorum was observed towards the "chief of men" whenever he appeared in public, that he was addressed with marked deference, and that a certain pomp surrounded him on such occasions.[949] These occasions were, of course, opportunities for the display of Indian

Walter Scott in "Waverley." As to the part played by the "chief of men" see particularly *Bernal Diez* (Cap. XCI, p. 66, Vedia II).

[945] This particularly earnest mien is noticed by all authors. It is strictly Indian, and found among the rudest tribes.

[946] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI. p. 214): "Y asi, lo primero que se ordenó, fué que los reyes nunca saliesen en público, sino á cosas muy necesarias y forçosas." *Codex Ramirez* (p. 76): "De ordinario estaba retirado saliendo muy pocas vezes á vista del pueblo."

[947] *Durán* (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. X, p. 291). It is distinctly asserted by the former that, what he has called "corona real" could only be worn by the "chief of men" and the "snake-woman." This head-dress, very appropriately termed by the Spaniards, "half mitre" ("media mitra") is figured by many authors of native origin. See *Codex Mendoza* (plates II to XIV, also LXX), *Durán* (Láminas 2 to 14, also 16, 18, to 24 etc.), *Codex Ramirez* (plates 4 and 5). It is called "Xiuhuitzolli" by the Mexicans. See also *Molina* (Parte Ia, p. 30 and IIa, p. 160) from "Xiuitl" turquoise or green stone, and is totally different from the head-dress worn by the "chief of men" in the field. Compare "*Art of War*" (p. 126).

[948] This explains the stories about the "incognito" ramblings of "Fasting Wolf" of Tezcuco, so frequently repeated after the Ixtlilxochitls, as well as that of the arrest of "Wrathy Chief" (the last Montezuma) for appropriating corn out of a field. The latter tale is beautifully told by *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, pp. 451, 452) after the best authorities.

[949] No author has been more prolific in pictures of pomp, regal wealth and magnificence, than *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* ("*Historia verdadera*," etc., etc., Cap. LXXXVIII, XCI and XCII, etc.). Most of the later writers have placed undue reliance on his statements, assuming that the truthfulness with which he "gave vent" to his own individual feelings and impressions, was the result of cool, impassionate observation. Anyone who has read attentively (and not merely glanced over at random for the purpose of obtaining quotations) his protracted "Mémoires," will become convinced that he is, in fact, one of the most unreliable eye-witnesses, as far as general principles are concerned. In every detail where his personal feelings are not involved or by which, even at the late date when he wrote, they were not involuntarily aroused, he is much more trustworthy than when he takes special pride or pains to be very explicit. Thus, it is curious to compare his description of "Wrathy Chief's" reception of Cortés with that given subsequently by the "Marquis del Valle" himself, ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, p. 25). It was doubtlessly the greatest effort at pomp and display ever attempted by the Mexicans, since they went to meet and greet the most incom-